1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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side of the bundle, it is said. Except at such ceremonies as this, only the keeper could touch the pipe.

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Pipes were sometimes given to other tribes, and were sometimes received from them. Sometimes they were carried by war-parties. One of the three pipes still in existence is said to have been given by the Cheyenne to the Crow, and by the latter to the Gros Ventre, when peace was made between the two tribes. The stem is ornamented with feathers, weasel-skins, and at the end with a bunch of eagle-feathers. The sacred pipes were kept wrapped in many pieces of skin or cloth, and hung up in the tent. In good weather they were hung on a stand of three or four sticks, behind the tent. The keepers of the sacred pipes observed stringent rules. They could not eat of the head or back of any animal, nor of any part of the white-tailed deer, nor any eggs. They were not allowed to bathe, or to paint (except red), or to take the ashes out of the tent. They had to smoke in certain ways. They did not eat dogs, or allow them in the tent; nor did they let dogs touch them, or walk over their legs, or walk before them, while they were smoking. The keepers of the sacred pipes wore their hair uncut and uncombed. They could not cut it until they had given the pipe to another keeper. The hair was worn tied in a bunch just above the forehead. Fig. 42 shows such a bunch of matted hair, said to have been that of the grandfather of the father of the man who was the oldest in the tribe in 1901. This former keeper of the pipe became so old that he lost most of his hair, and the bunch shown was cut off by him before it should drop off. To this hair the later owner of the pipe, his present great-grandson, tied the first of his own teeth to fall out from old age: they are contained in a small cloth sack.

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Fig. 42 (50-1902). Matted Hair. Length, 41 cm.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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Another instance was given by The Boy regarding his father. "Lame Bull was on a buffalo-hunting party when his brother-in-law was killed during an encounter with the enemy. They brought the body as it was back to camp, where it lay for quite a while. Lame Bull finally went to his tipi and got leggings and a shirt of his own, although he was Flat Pipe Keeper at the time and it was taboo for one holding this office to give his clothes to the dead. Nevertheless Lame Bull removed the bloody clothes from the body of his brother-in-law, washed the body and dressed it in his own clothes. He paid for this kindness, however, because for nine years thereafter he had such pains in his legs he was not able to walk,—this being the punishment he suffered for breaking the rules by which the Keeper of a sacred pipe should live."

Before finally disposing of the body "something very expensive," like a big silk handkerchief, was placed over the face. The whole body, including the head, was then wrapped securely in a blanket or robe and tied "like a mummy." The body was placed on a stretcher and put in a forked tree, if practicable, the head to the setting sun. Otherwise the corpse might be laid on a knoll and a structure like a sweatlodge built over it to protect it from the wild beasts; or it might be laid in the cleft of a cliff and covered with rocks.[8] For a particularly prominent man, however, his own lodge might serve as his last resting place. In that case holes would be dug in which the lodge-poles were placed, in order that the structure would be more permanent. The body was laid in the lodge amidst rich furnishings. The ears of the lodge were closed, the cover pegged down, and the whole secured as well as possible. This was done, for instance, for The Boy's maternal grandfather and for one of his maternal uncles. Al Chandler remembers that when he himself was a small boy upon the death of his uncle, Rises Again, the body was placed on a bedstead in a big lodge erected about a half-mile from his house.

Even in times of great stress, such as in a smallpox epidemic when so many died that "the trees along the Milk River were just loaded with bodies," as much care as possible was taken to place the bodies properly in their last resting place. When there was no more space on the trees, a large number of bodies were put in a

[8] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 181.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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co-keepers with her, but they or one of them would substitute for her in such minor duties as taking the Pipe out of the lodge in the morning and bringing it back in the evening when she was sick abed, or busy, or during her menses. During menses the co-keeper was not allowed to handle the Pipe. After Crow Bull, during his keepership, gave away his head wife and co-keeper, Digger, to Small White Cow in a drunken spree and Digger went away as wife to Small White Cow, Crow Bull's second oldest wife, Coming Day became co-keeper in Digger's place. If a man at the time of becoming keeper had a young wife with an infant, she and the infant were sent away to another lodge as infant-crying was not allowed in the keeper's lodge where the Pipe was.

The Flat Pipe keeper, if he had two or more children, chose one and one only of his children, more commonly a boy, to be Pipe Child. It was a strict rule that he could keep only one of his children with him; all his other children had to live elsewhere than in their father's lodge, because, for one important reason, the Pipe was jealous. Some keepers were such rigorists in the matter that they practically forgot all their other children.

The children that were put out of their father's lodge naturally found this hard and rebelled, but they were trained to take it as a matter of course. A special interest was taken by others in such children as they were felt to be unfortunate in being deprived of the care and affection of their own parents. These children were permitted to visit their father and mother but they were under restrictions when they did so. Their grandmothers or foster parents would instruct them how to behave on such visits. They could not stay long, much less sleep there. They had to sit quiet in a special place in their parents' lodge and not roam around in it freely. They had to stay mostly near the door and not go near where the Pipe was. They were strictly forbidden to play in their father's lodge when visiting there. If their mother gave them something to eat they could eat it. They could sit on her lap. But they could not talk loud or shout. When so visiting they were not at ease and felt sort of foreign and awestricken. The Boy thought that these children may have been jealous of their sibling, the Pipe Child, but in such case they would have had to keep

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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although without the wild parsley, but we did not obtain details.

After ritual treatment of their wearing apparel, the new keeper and co-keeper had to take off any ring, necklace or other personal adornment made of copper, iron or other metal, as the wearing of metal adornments was forbidden them, apparently because such were from the whites. The two, but not the Pipe child, were each ritually invested with a necklace consisting of a large single shell on a string of twisted, not plaited, buckskin. The investure was done with three motions as if putting the necklace on, and at the third it was actually put on. Further the keeper, but not the co-keeper, had to frame his hair over his forehead with a large pompadour, as a sign of distinction.[1]

The new co-keeper also put some dried peppermint leaves mixed with poisonous wild parsley in a little buckskin sack which she then wore on her belt. This had a double purpose. First, the mixture being poisonous, she commanded respect. She must not be molested or even be bodily touched. Whoever molested or even touched her would suffer fits or spasms or a paralytic stroke. Second, she must live a virtuous life and not run around with other men. The co-keeper and keeper, as also the ex-co-keepers and ex-keepers, since they had all been consecrated with peppermint and fumigation could handle the wild parsley without danger, but the common people were not immune to its supposedly highly toxic effects.

On this second day a big feast was given. Most of the food was provided by the new keeper and his relatives. That eaten by the new keeper and co-keeper, who had been fasting from food and water since the time they were first siezed a good thirty or more hours previously, was provided by the ex-keepers.

At sundown the day's instruction ended. That night the new keeper and co-keeper, the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and two attendants slept in the double lodge, where the Pipe also remained.

Very early the next morning (or less probably late on the

[1] In 1948 The Boy added: "When a man became keeper, he ceased to comb his hair and it would get in all kinds of shapes and hang down. So he would take a bunch from the center and wind it round and round and tied that knot of hair around with a string. Whenever the keeper took off that string the people would be afraid!" [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer. But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing toward the rising sun.

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary."

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it cannot right itself.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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341 346 353 The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

778 788 In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up, stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and fastened from the inside.

778 The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of ritual and other observances.

● 784 No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside the beds or under the pillows or anywhere in the "sanctuary," but near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

784 516 When anything was going on therein, with men and women both present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under the other.

784 No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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around it, but were taught and trained to be quiet around it and to observe reverence toward it.

No whistling or crying was permitted in the keeper's lodge. The keeper and co-keeper were forbidden to cry in the presence of the Pipe, if, for instance, they had lost a relative. A crying baby was never allowed in the lodge with the Pipe. As soon as the infant started to cry it was taken out. If, as previously noted, a man who had a young wife with a baby took the Pipe, she and the infant would be sent out of the Pipe lodge to a nearby lodge.

Dogs were never allowed to enter the lodge where the Pipe was. If the keeper or co-keeper owned a dogskin robe, the rules forbade their using it.

The people were not allowed to go to the keeper's lodge to get fire, as they used to go to other lodges in the early morning.

Breaking bones to extract marrow was prohibited in the keeper's lodge. If this were done, some accident, such as the breaking of a leg or arm, would happen to some relative of the keeper [or of the delinquent?].

The door of the keeper's lodge had to be kept closed, and the back cover of the lodge could not be lifted up in the warm summertime to get air.

A war party before starting off would sing at the door of each clan chief's lodge, but not at the door of the keeper's.

When people went to the keeper's lodge for a social smoke and feast, they had to keep their wits about them and watch their speech carefully lest they should unthinkingly tell lies, vulgar or obscene stories, or start a war-deed contest.

There was a very strict prohibition against telling lies in the keeper's lodge.

If two men, while in the keeper's lodge, forgot themselves and started a war-deed contest, the keeper would remind them: "You are mistaken in talking so in here. Now you will have to continue for three days and nights." During this time all who were present when the slip was first made had to stay day and night in the lodge of the keeper, who would provide them with food and tobacco. These listeners would egg on and laughingly banter the two contestants and decide on the winner. After a while the pair's

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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784 517 fund of war exploits would be apt to give out, and the two would begin talking about trifling occurrences in camp, personal reminiscences about their marriages, and so forth. Everybody had a good time at such a three-day session.

Neither the keeper nor others were permitted to tell folk-tales of the vulgar or obscene Ni:hahat type in the former's lodge. If a member of a visiting group inadvertently broke the rule, a three-day session similar to the war-deed one above was prescribed, during which he had to continue telling such tales.

798 696 If a murder of a fellow-tribesman had been committed in camp, and the murdered person's relatives were about to kill the murderer in revenge, the latter could run to and take refuge in the keeper's lodge and was safe so long, but only so long, as he stayed there. The avengers dared not enter it to kill, but immunity ceased so soon as the murderer left the lodge.

624 361 There is general agreement among our informants that the keeper's lodge was pitched in a prominent place, but exactly where in the camp circle is a controverted point we did not succeed in clearing up. According to one tradition, it occupied the place of honor in the circle, toward the northwest—opposite the circle's opening which was toward the southeast or the rising sun,—regardless of where the keeper's band camped in the circle. Three, however, of our oldest informants, Coming Daylight, Takes-the-Bow, and Turn-Toes, held that the keeper remained with his band, the first two of the three stating that his lodge was pitched a little in front of his band toward the center of the circle.

Prerogatives and Restrictions of Keepership

793 The office of keepership carried with it on the one hand a great many special rights, privileges, prerogatives and powers and on the other a great many restrictions, obligations, responsibilities and sacrifices. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, as new ones were still being revealed when our field work came to an end,[3] but it probably includes most of them. They functionally accord with sacred and high dignity of the keepership, the supernatural power attached to it, the lofty ethical behavior and "as-

[3] Kroeber, 1908, p. 273, has some we did not get.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13.

ceticism" expected of the keeper, his status as one set apart from his fellows, and his political and civil role in the Gros Ventre theocracy. We shall classify and treat them in this order, although some of them do not fit too neatly into any one of the five or six categories, and some straddle two or more of them. Incidentally, in many cases these refer to the co-keeper as well, although our field notes mention only the keeper.

The keeper and co-keeper of the Flat Pipe held a very sacred office of great eminence, and their persons and everything on or about them were considered holy. They themselves were expected always to behave in a dignified manner becoming their exalted and sacred position, and others were obliged to show them due respect.

The keeper and co-keeper were not permitted "to do foolish things like other people." They could not, for instance, take part in gossip or other petty meanness. They were obligated as well to many ethical, "ascetic" and ritual observances to be described presently.

Marked respect was due them from their fellow-tribesmen. As The Boy put it, the Gros Ventres, now all Catholics, "had just the same great respect for the keeper and his wife as they now have for the priests and nuns."

People had to keep their distance from the keeper and co-keeper, and could not sit close to them, or touch, grab or wrestle with them. Apparently, however, they could shake hands with them. If the keeper asked anyone to hand him something, the object had to be passed by hand, not thrown to him; if it were thrown toward the keeper on the ground and he had to pick it up, some accident would befall either the keeper or the thrower.

If anyone stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the sitting keeper or co-keeper, the guilty party would at once fall in a fit, or get cramps and could be cured only by the offended keeper or co-keeper. Likewise, if the keeper, intentionally or unintentionally, stepped over the outstretched legs of a sitting person, the person would get fits or cramps and could be cured only by the keeper.

If the keeper or an ex-keeper had the Flat Pipe or even a com-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 mon pipe in his hands, it was forbidden for anyone to pass in front
784 of him, under penalty of some evil befalling the culprit.

If a person, wanting something in a hurry from the keeper, such as meat or a bit of tobacco, just poked his (or her) head in the door of the keeper's lodge and made his request, no one inside would answer him. He would have to go all the way in, proceeding clockwise, make his request, and go out clockwise, not back out.

When the co-keeper gave a visitor something to eat in the Pipe lodge, the receiver had to eat it there and not take it out, unless someone told war stories. No one was allowed to take or grab anything seen in the Pipe lodge.

778 The keeper and co-keeper were by virtue of their office "holy"
782 persons, that is, endowed with supernatural powers. Some of these powers were related directly to their main task as custodians of the Pipe, leaders in its ritual, and intercessors with the supernatural world, and will be described under the ritual of the Pipe. Others were conferred on them at or subsequent to the transfer rite, partly to enable them to command the respect due them, partly to give them supernatural efficiency for their own or their people's advantage,—the former being mostly powers to harm, the latter mostly powers to help.

793 If anyone were guilty of disrespect to the keeper or co-keeper,
754 there were several avenging procedures to which they could resort.

During the transfer rite, the keeper and co-keeper were taught some form of cursing, so they would be properly respected. If they wished evil on anyone, the evil would come to pass. Deer, an ex-keeper who gave Lame Bull much of the latter's coaching for the keepership, told him after his mouth had been consecrated: "Be careful what you say. For if you utter an evil wish on anybody, the wish will come true." This power, it may be added, is more or less of a piece with the commonly possessed efficacy attributed in Gros Ventre idealogy to serious good or evil wish-thought. (See pp. 364-370.)

Deer also taught Lame Bull in his early keepership another harming power, but cautioned him not to use it unless someone failed to show proper respect to him as keeper. This power worked by "sympathetic" magic. Deer asked for a little pup and a piece of sinew. When these were brought he said: "Leave the pup near

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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also to enhance their sacredness and intercessory role as well as their prestige in the eyes of the people. Gros Ventre character-ideals have a high rating to "strong-heartedness," ability to bear and forego, readiness to do without, "asceticism" in its looser sense of voluntary self-punishment. Making one's self "pitiful" through hardships and privations in order to excite the sympathy of and to obtain blessings from the supernatural beings was a basic procedure in Gros Ventre religious practice. The keeper and co-keeper were expected to be sacred and powerful intercessors and to be individuals of high character.

In general the keeper and co-keeper had to lead very restricted lives, largely cut off from free association with their tribesmen, most of the time kept within or close to their lodge where the Pipe hung, and occupied with their official duties.

In particular they were under many specific privations and prohibitions. Perhaps the most severe of these was the obligation of sending away and thus practically giving up all their children, even their favorite one, except the one chosen as Pipe child. And ordinarily Gros Ventre parents were extremely fond of and attached to their children.

The keeper and co-keeper could not eat birds or bird eggs of any kind, nor any part of the head, such as the tongue or brains, of any quadruped. According to one tradition they could eat the body but not the head of dogs; according to another, not even the body. On the occasion however of feasts connected with the Flat Pipe they could eat buffalo tongue. They apparently did not eat fish, but the eating of fish was uncommon anyhow among the Gros Ventres and some Gros Ventres did not eat it at all. There were other minor food taboos, according to The Boy, but he could not recall what they were.

The co-keeper was obliged to wear a robe or blanket all the time, no small inconvenience during the Montana summer when the temperature not infrequently rises to the 90's Fahrenheit in the shade around midday and the afternoon. The prohibition against the wearing of metal personal adornments by the keeper and co-keeper was previously noted.

The keeper and co-keeper were not allowed to comb their hair, nor to scratch their heads except with a scratching-stick. The

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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keeper (and probably the co-keeper too) could not cut his hair, but had to wear it tangled and disheveled.

The keeper and co-keeper were not permitted to bathe and swim in the creeks,—this in contrast to the Gros Ventre custom of daily early morning bathing and swimming by both sexes the year round when not prevented by ice, as a cleansing, body-hardening and recreative practice. In fact, the two were not allowed to wash even their hands and face with water, but, according to The Boy, had to use instead fat, grease or oil, and to wipe them with the same muskrat skin they used in face painting.

The keeper could not draw blood on his own person by cutting, as was done by others in the sweat lodge rite, in mourning, and on other occasions.

The keeper and co-keeper were not supposed to cry or to cut their hair in case of the death of a relative, nor to go where any one lay dead, nor to have anything at all to do with a corpse. In particular they were not allowed to give clothes, at least their own, to put on a dead person. It was a breach of this last prohibition, in fact, that resulted in Lame Bull's lameness, and his subsequent sobriquet, Lame Bull, his proper name being Under Bull.[4]

The keeper and co-keeper could not gamble or be gambled with. If the keeper nevertheless did so and won, he won not only the wager, but also the life of his opponent. The latter would meet with some fatality unless the keeper agreed to avert the evil by performing the proper rite over him. The keeper would direct the man to build a sweat-lodge and would enter it with him. The man would fumigate himself and inhale the smudge. The keeper would rub the man all over from head to feet with sage.

The keeper was not allowed just to throw off his saddle or blankets onto the ground but had to take good care of them.

According to Coming Daylight, a keeper during his term of office "could not sing the songs he was supposed to sing," but we secured no clarification of this statement. The reference may be to songs previously gotten in quests for supernatural power.

In addition to the foregoing more or less restrictive or "ascetic" observances that served to set the keeper and co-keeper apart from

[4] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 201.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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their fellows, there were many other ones that fulfilled the same function. Of these latter, some, more distinctively ritual, will be dealt with later passim under "Flat Pipe Ritual"; others, more secular, may be mentioned now.

The keeper and co-keeper were not supposed to carry a pack on their own backs, except that on the march the Pipe bundle might be packed by the co-keeper.

They could not mount and dismount a horse on the same side, but mounted from the right side and dismounted from the left.

If you handed something to the keeper it became his property, and if he handed something to you it became yours. If you thoughtlessly left anything with the keeper or co-keeper to keep for you, —if, for instance, you said: "Here, hold my horse (or my gun)," —the object became the property of the keeper or co-keeper and could not be gotten back. The keeper and co-keeper never loaned their robes, dresses, moccasins or other belongings, unless asked, and they were not supposed to be asked to loan. If you thoughtlessly broke the code and asked to borrow something from them, they were obliged to give it to you to own.

Neither the keeper nor co-keeper was allowed to handle ashes, nor could the Pipe bundle remain in the keeper's lodge when ashes were taken out. Were this rule violated, the keeper or co-keeper or both would lose eyesight. When ashes were to be removed from the keeper's lodge, the Pipe bundle was taken outside the lodge by the co-keeper, and both the keeper and the co-keeper stayed outside, while another of the keeper's wives removed the ashes.

When a group of men were seated in a crescent or near-circle enjoying a purely social smoke together, each took a puff from the lighted pipe and passed it clockwise to the man on his left until it reached the end of the line. Then the pipe would be passed back anti-clockwise from hand to hand to the other end without anyone puffing from it. But if the keeper were in the group, he could take a puff not only when the pipe was passing him clockwise but also on its anti-clockwise return. The man passing the pipe to the keeper from either left or right had to raise it upward a little toward his own right before doing so. The first time the pipe reached the keeper, he would take a big puff, and point

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 years before her father's keepership was the one who was asked to "confirm" the appointment of Garter Snake [ritual details not obtainable by us] and was given a good horse for performing the ceremony.

The Pipe was addressed and spoken of as the child of the keeper and co-keeper, and they looked upon themselves as the father and mother of the Pipe. When the Pipe talked to them in their dreams it addressed them as "father" and "mother" respectively. To the Pipe child, the Pipe was brother. The Pipe was very jealous, and wanted to be the lone child and so all the keeper's children except the Pipe child were supposed to be put out of the keeper's lodge. According to Garter Snake, however, her father's other children slept in his lodge, not however with the keeper and co-keeper but in separate beds. Garter Snake herself when very young slept with her parents, but later on a separate bed near the foot of theirs. Al Chandler when he was a little boy used to stay with his grandfather, Sitting High, then keeper. The latter would make a bed for the boy right under the Pipe—"which usually was not allowed, but he did it because I was an orphan, and he would pray that I would be healthy, live to old age, and everything like that. He did that every night as long as I was there."

If a new keeper happened to have a young wife with an infant, they were sent to another lodge.

Some of the activities, duties, and attitudes of a Pipe child can be gathered from the following account by Garter Snake of her own experiences.

"When I was the Pipe child, whenever my mother took the Pipe bundle outside of the lodge, I took the tripod out after her. I was told how to set the tripod when the camp was about to move, with two of the legs close together and the third far out. Whenever my father made smudge with pine needles, he would give me some and I would chew them and would hold my hands over the smudge. Then I would rub my left palm up my right arm, my right palm up my left arm, then both palms from the top of my head down the sides of my neck and down my breast.

"I did not have any duties beyond helping my mother when she brought the Pipe bundle out and brought it in.

"I was forbidden to pick peppermint. If peppermint was mixed

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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in dried pounded meat, I was not allowed to eat the meat. If a coyote or wolf were killed, I was not supposed to touch it. These were the only two prohibitions I was under.

"If anybody vowed to be painted by the keeper, I would be present at the rite next to my mother and sit there through the ceremony.

"Whenever while I was Pipe child I got sick my father would put pine needles on me, and then he would take down the bundle and put it on my parents' bed, and would say to me: 'Put your arms around your brother [the Pipe] and pray to your brother so you may get well.' The Pipe keeper and his wife claim the Feathered Pipe as their son and tell their children that the Pipe is their brother. When I put my arms around the Pipe I was told to say to the Pipe: 'My dear brother, have pity on me, that I may get well of my illness.'

"Of course the Pipe was not human but because I was a baby when my father got it I grew up with it and thought just as much of it as of my own blood relatives. When my father transferred the Pipe to Sitting High I was outside playing. When I was coming home I saw the bundle at Sitting High's door, and when I saw it I started to cry, and when I saw my father I said to him: 'Why did you give my Pipe away?' It was just like a person leaving. I was lonesome for it, and felt just as if I had lost a relative or friend. And all through my life I have felt the same toward it. All through my life I have made it a point to be present at any Feathered Pipe ceremony. And whenever I went to any ceremony, I would bring something for it. Since I joined the Catholic Church I stopped doing this, but even now I feel: 'It's all alone. I pity it.'

"When while I was Pipe child I had been out playing and in the evening would come home and see the Pipe bundle over the door, I would stand and look at it a long time and would say: 'Feathered Pipe, I am going into our lodge now.' Once when I was sitting on the bed in the lodge I got to thinking, and all the folks were there, and I said: 'Feathered Pipe, my dear brother, look down on me and watch over me.' I was not told to say this, and I do not know what made me say this prayer to the Feathered Pipe.

"My father used to tell me: 'This Pipe was given by the Su-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 preme Being through Bha'a, the Supreme Being is the father of the Pipe.'"

In the cases where the new keeper was elected in secret conclave and not told or asked beforehand, at night after the camp was asleep a group sneaked up to the electee's lodge, and one of the group carrying the feathered stick from the Pipe bundle entered the lodge. If the electee tried to escape, the watchers outside would grab and hold him. The electee was raided and lost everything, his lodge and horses and other belongings,—just as the man to whom the Pipe had first been given from above lost everything. Afterwards, however, the relatives and friends of the electee, anybody that could, would give a new lodge, new bedding and other lodge equipment, and horses,—as was done to the first owner and keeper.

After being grabbed, the new keeper and his wife were carried —they did not walk—to the lodge of the retiring keeper who put a cloth over their heads. They were thus in the dark and didn't know what was going on until a special song was sung and the cloth removed. We were unable to secure many details of the transfer rite. The rite included, of course, ritual and other instruction of the new keeper, and co-keeper for which he had to pay handsomely,—for instance, a horse for a ritual song taught him. For these payments he had to count on his relatives and friends who, later in the course of his keepership, would receive equivalent presents in return. A central feature of the transfer rite was the new keeper's dance with the Pipe. In earlier times, in fact up to about 1905, it was only the keeper, we were informed, who could dance with the Pipe and this only at the transfer rite.

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346 Apparently the lodge of the Feathered Pipe keeper was very
353 like that of the Flat Pipe keeper, and under similar respect taboos, but we were able to obtain only fragmentary specific information.

[784] At the back of the lodge, in the place of honor opposite the door, was the Pipe bed of sage brush, laid down with the tip ends pointed toward the lodge center, and covered with a white buffalo robe. When the group was camping at the same site for any length of time, in good weather the Pipe bundle was hung up during the daytime over the lodge door.

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784 All movement within the lodge was clockwise. There could be

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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no crying by children in the lodge; if a child started to cry it was taken out at once. Dogs were not allowed in the lodge, nor could the keeper use a dog robe. Bones could not be broken in the lodge to extract marrow, as in the case of the Flat Pipe lodge and under the same penalty. War-deed contests in the Feathered Pipe lodge were prohibited and penalized, as in the Flat Pipe lodge,—with a four-day penalty. The right of asylum was recognized exactly as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge.

The lodge occupied a place of honor in the camp circle, but whether opposite the opening of the circle or just in front of the keeper's band is controverted, as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge (see p. 58).

The prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keepership of the Feathered Pipe appear to have been quite similar in number and kind to those attaching to the keepership of the Flat Pipe, although we did not obtain as full details regarding them as we did for the Flat Pipe. We shall mention only those prerogatives and restrictions for which we obtained specific information. The functional relation of the various prerogatives and restrictions to the sacredness and dignity of the keepership was quite the same for both Pipes.

In accord with the dignity of their office, the keeper and co-keeper were expected to comport themselves respectably on all occasions and to conform to the strict ethical norms to be mentioned presently.

The people were in turn expected to treat them with great respect. Things asked for by the keeper had to be handed to him, not thrown, exactly as with the Flat Pipe keeper, and under the same penalty. If someone absent-mindedly stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the keeper, the latter would keel over in a faint and the co-keeper would have to smudge him ritually to bring him to, or the offender would fall down with a "cramp." Coming Daylight once saw a woman in a crowded place step over the feet of the Feathered Pipe co-keeper. The woman "fell in a cramp." Her mother got angry and upbraided the co-keeper: "You ought to know better than to leave your feet sticking out." But her sister went over and kissed the co-keeper and begged her in a nice way to doctor the stricken woman. So the co-keeper got up and

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 784 blew medicine on the woman who then recovered. If you even passed in front of the keeper, you would "drop in a cramp."

Food offered in the keeper's lodge, even on a purely social and informal occasion, had to be eaten there and could not be taken out unless some one told a personal war-deed. This taboo applied even to an ex-keeper guest, although not to the actual keeper's [576] children. The keeper could break up the gathering by emptying his own pipe—a recognized Gros Ventre convention for hosts.

[821] If anybody threw water at the keeper or hit him with water, this would cause rain.

Where a group of men were seated in a row or crescent having a purely social smoke, the general procedure was as previously described. If the Pipe keeper were one of the group, the man passing the pipe to him on either the clockwise or return circuit would first make a gesture with it "to the rear between himself and the keeper," if you didn't do that the keeper would not accept it.

The powers of the Feathered Pipe keeper and co-keeper specifically recorded by us were similar, apart from control of storm, rain and flood and, as far as they went, to those of the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper. The weather control powers will be described later under Feathered Pipe ritual.

[753] Anyone who stepped in the track of the keeper or co-keeper got a fit, for the soles of their moccasins were kept treated with wild parsley.

The keeper and co-keeper acquired by reason of their office certain doctoring powers.

787 793 The keeper had marked dreaming and forecasting powers, just as the Flat Pipe keeper had, and his dreams when told to the people were "big news." In a dream he would, for instance, see animals fighting the Gros Ventres and this would be a warning to a war-raiding party to act discreetly. He would foretell from his dreams who would win in a prospective battle and how many would be killed. At the time the Flat Pipe was captured by the Assiniboine (see No. 8 in Appendix), the Feathered Pipe owner was fore-warned by the Pipe in a dream and he and his party escaped. If the keeper had a dream that foreboded evil fortune he would on waking talk to the Pipe and ask it not to let the evil

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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happen. If told in a dream, perhaps by the owl, of an impending epidemic, he might call all the people to his lodge and ritually paint them. If he dreamed of bad luck about to befall some individual in camp, he would tell him: "I dreamed that something was going to happen to you. You better make an offering. I will pray for you and try to avert the misfortune, but you must help."

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In general the keeper and co-keeper of the Feathered Pipe were expected to live strictly in conformity with Gros Ventre ethical norms. Specifically recorded by us as unbecoming and forbidden to the keeper were: stealing, fighting, quarreling, losing temper, wife-beating, talking evil of fellow-tribesman, "talking dirty," threatening to kill, and, for more recent times, cursing and swearing like the whites.

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The Feathered Pipe keepership seems to have involved for the keeper and co-keeper about the same privations and restrictions as did the Flat Pipe, although we obtained explicit information only regarding the following ones.

"The keeper of the Feathered Pipe was not supposed to comb his hair. It was all matted and made him look different from other men. You see him and you know at once he is a Pipe man. Sitting High's hair was that way. The locks were stuck together in the back. It made him look like a holy man. He never cut his hair and was not supposed to put water on it. His wife [the co-keeper] could comb her hair, but I do not think she could put water on it."[1]

The keeper could not bathe or swim in a stream; if he did, there would be rain. He could not wash his face but wiped it off with a cloth. He could not cut himself as a sacrifice or as a sign of mourning. He could not cry at mourning, not in the presence of the Pipe. Gambling by or with the keeper was forbidden, under the same penalty of life and with the same rite of absolution as described for the Flat Pipe keeper.

According to Al Chandler, the Feathered Pipe keeper and co-keeper, in contrast to the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper and

[1] In 1948 Al Chandler added: "The keeper cannot eat eggs, chicken, the head of any animal, nor dogs. In fact nothing about dogs was allowed near the keeper. Wherever they were, no one could walk in front of the keeper or co-keeper." [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

also to the whites, both mounted and dismounted their horses from the right side, just as all other Gros Ventres did.

"You could not lend the Feathered Pipe keeper a horse, because if you loaned it to him this was just the same as giving it to him. You could not take it back once the rope was in his hands. The keeper never borrowed anything. If someone thought the keeper was short of something and without thinking said to him, 'Here is one you can use,' that was just too bad because that was really giving it to him."

Apparently the keeper could not point at a person with his index finger, but would instead use his thumb.

The role of the Feathered Pipe keeper in the political life of the Gros Ventre was quite similar to that of the Flat Pipe keeper, as regards such things as decision when and whether to move camp, matters of public policy, and veto power thereupon.

Feathered Pipe and Bundle

The Feathered Pipe was first given, as noted in the origin stories (see No. 6 in Appendix), from above by Bha'a, the thunder and storm being. Garter Snake's father, Bull Lodge, used to tell her that it was really given by Ixtcibani:hohat, the Supreme Being, through Bha'a; that the Supreme Being was the father of the Pipe; and that it was to remain forever with the Gros Ventres and never under any condition to be transferred to any other tribe. According to Gros Ventre tradition, while the Feathered Pipe is very old, it is not as old as the Flat Pipe; when the Feathered Pipe was first given to the Gros Ventres, they were already in the possession of horses. According to The Boy, the Feathered Pipe was first given after the Gros Ventres came to their present territory which had previously been Snake Indian country, but before the coming of the whites thereto. With the Pipe itself were given in the beginning the stone image or face, the whistle, and the staff, to be described presently.

The proper name of the Feathered Pipe was ana:θanitĕ (it has feathers).

We were unable to attend any unwrapping rite and to see the Pipe. It was described to us as being in one piece, of "smooth,"

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 The main rites of the Crazy Dance extended over four days and four nights, and were followed by a period of "talking backward" and other "crazy" behavior by the dancers. Dancers did not fast during the dance, as did vowers during the Sacrifice Dance, but [262] ate heartily. Large quantities of food were procured beforehand, and many puppies were killed and cooked to provide the delicacy, [784] dog meat. The dancers, however, were not allowed to swim, bathe, or "touch water" during the Dance. If any dancer did so, Bha'a would get angry and there would be a big storm. On each of the four nights of the dance, the dancers slept in the Crazy Dance lodge, but after each night they went back home in the morning to paint up.

*796 The Crazy Dance lodge was erected in the center of the camp circle, not far from the chief vower's tipi and executive head- 346 quarters. The "lodge" was an open roofless circular corral made of upright poles about 6 or 7 feet high stuck in the ground, with a wide opening to the south according to Coming Daylight, to the southeast according to The Boy and Thick. To the top of the poles were lashed tipi poles to make a railing. Over this railing were hung tipi covers, which lapped over on the ground inside the corral as a place on which to rest and sleep. The tipi covers needed—two, or three, or more, depending on the number of the vower's age-group who participated and hence on the size of the corral—were taken, without asking permission, by the dancers from enemy-friends belonging to the next older age-group of the dancers' own society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be.

*796 Inside the corral, at the place of honor immediately to the right of the opening, according to The Boy, or opposite the opening according to Coming Daylight, a little sort of wickiup was put up. Here, as the ceremony started, sat the chief vower and here was kept the ritual badger skin. The crier(s) (and council of four?) also were in the wickiup, according to The Boy and Thick. Very little of what went on inside the wickiup was known to our informants.

The participant dancers sat in the corral on either side, the "talls" on the west, the "shorts" on the east, with their respective ritual grandfathers and wives,—the dancers in front, the grand-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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his power only when he was an active participant in the game. Keg, who had gotten gambling power from a prairie chicken, would, when using this power in a hand game, imitate the hissing, swishing noise made by the prairie chickens when they ruffle their tail feathers. He had been given by the prairie chicken its windpipe to use in the hand game, and for this he made use of a small metal spring resembling the windpipe. Red Whip, famous for his great gambling power, used a weasel skin in exercising this power. A player with power who was losing in a game might half seriously voice an appeal: "What is the matter with you, prairie chicken (or ghost)? You are failing me."

Only certain songs could be sung in a two-button hand game; others, such as doctors' songs or medicine lodge songs, could not then be sung. If one of the players had a gambling power song, gotten in a dream from a prairie chicken or ghost, he would start singing it and others would join in. Gambling songs were sung in fast time to the accompaniment usually of small hand drums, the players marked time by striking with sticks the logs that lay stretched in front of each team. After a game was well under way, in the excitement, grunts would often take the place of songs.

We recorded two gambling songs for the old hand game, numbers 107 and 108, as sung by The Boy.

Love power, more common than gambling power, was acquired, by quest or transfer, to attain various ends: by a man to secure sex favors from women who were reluctant to grant them, or who had not only rejected his advances but had privately or publicly met them with insult;[18] by a jilted lover to win back the jilting man or woman; by a man or woman to win over a desired but unwilling prospective marital mate; by a wife to win back the affections and fidelity of a husband who was running around with other women.

We could obtain very little information on the rites carried out when love power was used. Our chief informant on love power, The Boy, had been offered it on various occasions but had never accepted it, so had not been told the ritual procedures to use, procedures about which the possessors of love power were ap-

[18] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 174, 193.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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CHAPTER VII

CURING PRACTICES

A good many Gros Ventres through quest or otherwise acquired doctoring power. To give a better idea of it we shall need to see it against the larger background of native concepts of the cause and cure of illness.

Causes of Illness

Some illnesses were ascribed to solely or mainly natural agents or agential causes, others to supernatural ones. The line between the two types of causation is not, however, always clear.

Sometimes supernaturally caused ailments followed automatically from the breach of taboos, others were inflicted intentionally by non-human or by human agents.

Marrow bones were not supposed to be broken inside a lodge or house, and a person who transgressed this taboo would suffer from sore legs. The penalty of fits, cramps and paralysis from certain actions to or by keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes has been previously noted.

The chief sender of sickness, particularly of epidemics such as smallpox and measles, was the being, Atsa:. This being appears likewise to have had something to do indirectly with other ailments, but exactly what part he had in causing such ailments could not be cleared up by us. The intrusion of pathogenic objects into the body to cause illness was not attributed to Atsa: personally.

Malevolent spirits,—whether ghostly or other is not clear,—would cause illness by "shooting" people, that is, by projecting some small object into the body of the victim. To the maleficent activity of these spirits was also ascribed mental derangement, at least in some cases. One such mentally deranged woman was once seen by Coming Daylight. This woman who was getting along in years became deranged all of a sudden. Coming Daylight, with the consent of the woman's husband, went to her lodge and peered in.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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Weasel was given power to cure only a limited number of cases; Goes Back, a medicine woman, was granted power to cure only one case and she used it to cure Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man; Al Chandler's adoptive father, also called Little Man, got power [from a coyote] to cure seven persons at the point of death, but used it in only three cases. There were no limitations ordinarily, it appears, on power to cure minor ailments; a professional doctor, Cora Chandler stated, "could do other little doctoring as often as called." 756

Doctors, as The Boy expressed it, "had to live restricted lives, to avoid doing certain things or eating certain foods, somewhat like keepers of sacred Pipes." According to Al Chandler, one was forbidden to eat buffalo heart under penalty of death, and "certain medicine men people tell about were vulnerable only in one certain spot,"—in one case the man's big toe, in another, a spot on his shoulder. This latter doctor always wore a little circle of willow wrapped with weasel skin over this spot; he was wounded badly but, until that spot on his shoulder was hit, was not killed. The donor of power might warn the recipient never to let anyone do some specific thing to him. Thus Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, when he got power was warned by the supernatural donor: "Never let anyone pull your hair. Here however, is the remedy. If there is anyone present when your hair is pulled tell him to make a smudge of sweet pine, then put it near your nose, and if you can sniff it you will come through safe, otherwise you are a goner." Actually Little Man's death, as Al Chandler told it in detail, occurred shortly after a quarrel with his wife in the course of which she pulled his hair. Little Man quit fighting and sat quiet. Two or three days later he was down sick. White and Indian doctors were called in but none could do anything for him. Al Chandler went to stay with him but he did not want Al there. He wanted to die and did not want Al to talk him out of it. In a little while he was dead. 756 784

Doctors, or at least some of them, got power not only to cure but also to cause sickness and to kill, poison or otherwise harm people. Some other doctors were believed to have used such lethal power, although such use was definitely looked upon as a crime 754

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

787 to do so they did not do it. They peered one by one. If the scryer, on peering into the surface of the blood, saw himself headless or scalped, this meant he would get killed, and he would not go on the expedition but would turn back and go home. If he saw himself reflected clearly, this meant good luck. "Usually," said Thomas Main, "the scryers did not tell what they saw." "It was claimed," Charles Buckman remarked, "that the skeptic [one who saw himself scalped or headless, but nevertheless continued on the expedition] actually got killed."

Bear heart divination was described by The Boy, Charles Buckman, and Coming Daylight as a well-known practice.[18] Apparently badger blood divination was taken much more gravely and seriously by the Gros Ventres than bear heart divination.

A final type of divination is from Coming Daylight. The grandson of her old grandmother with whom, as a girl, she and her sister were living, killed a female porcupine in which were two embryos. "The old woman said to us two girls: 'Come here both of you.' So she held my dress open at the neck and loosened my belt, and threw the foetus down the neck of my dress. It went through without stopping, and my grandmother said: 'When you have children you will have an easy time. See how quick it went through.' Then she did the same to my sister, but in some way the foetus got caught, and the old woman said: 'Now, you see. You are going to have a hard time. You are going to have slow childbirth.' And sure enough, these are the ways it turned out for us [respectively]."

Things to Do and to Avoid Doing

784 789 Under this somewhat loose caption we are grouping certain acts done in order to bring about desirable effect or avoided lest undesirable ones follow. How far they were in Gross Ventre thought considered "supernatural" it is hard to say. Most of these observances and avoidances were seemingly viewed as of the non-sacred work-a-day order. At least, in most of them there appears to have been no explicit or even implicit appeal to a supernatural being or resort to supernatural power. The few in which a suggestion of

[18] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 163.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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supernatural power is present would, in so far, be positive "magical" practices, or else negative ones, "taboo" proper. The great number of such observances and avoidances, treated elsewhere—are here omitted or else touched upon only summarily. We shall list first acts done, and after that acts avoided.

To bring cold or a cold wind in winter time, a bull-roarer was whirled, or a buzzer, made of a dew claw with two holes in it, on a string, was revolved. Children were not allowed to use the buzzer. Plucking a bird to bring a north wind was not known to informants.

As soon as the first thunder of spring is heard, blow on any warts you have and they will come off.

The Gros Ventres, when aware someone was trying to bewitch or poison them or when they were going to visit another tribe, especially the Cree, would rub themselves with sweet pine needles and these would make them proof against witchcraft, poison, or other harm.

The shoulder-blade of an unborn buffalo-calf was hung up "so that buffalo would continue to exist."

Many acts were to be avoided lest undesirable consequences should follow.

If you touch a mole, a rash like poison ivy will result. The widespread belief among northeastern Algonquians that seeing a dead mole brings bad luck is however, lacking. If you touch a toad, you will get warts [European influence?] If a spider is killed, rain comes.

Do not eat the meat of the rare albino buffalo, else your hair will turn white. Children should not eat buffalo testicle, raw or cooked, lest they wet the bed; infants not yet able to talk should not eat puppy meat, lest they be a long time learning to talk. Young women of childbearing age should not eat the two strips of flesh, called the "twins," running along the backbone [tenderloins], lest they have twins, nor the colon of buffalo, for the same reason.

Horses should never be abused: such was the caution given to the founder of the Drum Dance by the drum men leader when the latter presented him with the stallion and other horses.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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784 789 [834] Sex abstinence was generally observed before hunting, and particularly before and all during golden eagle trapping. Eagle trappers "had to have a special religious character, to observe certain food taboos, and a special way of handling [being handed?] a pipe." The leader of a war party, but not other members thereof, also observed sex abstinence.

Do not break leg bones or ribs to extract the marrow or for other purpose, inside the lodge or house; go outside to do it, else you will get sore legs, or your horses may break their legs. Cora Chandler stated in 1940 that she still observed this latter, as her folks had always made her do. If an embryo calf were to be taken out of the belly of a buffalo, the embryo's eyes had to be extracted before it was brought into the lodge to be cooked; if the eyes were taken out inside the lodge, a member of the family would go blind, —"and this has been proven." Likewise it was forbidden to butcher and extract the brains from a buffalo head inside a lodge, and also break off the "soft end" of roast buffalo ribs. "Never use a knife to fuss with ashes or coals because you might cut yourself if you did so."

After blood-letting, the subject abstained from eating anything fried so the cut would not turn blue.

[851] There does not seem to have been any prohibition against mentioning the name of a deceased relative or other person.

777 801 Coming Daylight and Mary Ireaux had never heard of lucky or unlucky numbers. The Boy, however, stated: "According to the old law, the people were forbidden to use seven. For instance, a war party was not to have seven members, but either more or fewer. Cases are known in which young fellows disobeyed this rule and ran into trouble. In one case of this kind six of the party got killed and only one escaped with his life."

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

two enemy friends to strip the loser bare of everything he owned, down to his very lodge, was, like a wheel game of the same order of magnitude, a crowning event in Gros Ventre gambling, one arousing most intense popular interest. One of our informants was, in view of this fact, of the opinion that gambling among the Gros Ventre may have been first invented by enemy friends.

The keepers of the two most sacred pipes, the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe, were not allowed to gamble with any one, nor were their wives, nor (probably: our chief informant was not sure) ex-keepers. Rare exceptions may have occurred in practice. Should an enemy friend of a keeper taunt him into betting and should the challenger lose, he would lose not only his wager but also in a sense his life. For his life would in consequence be shortened, unless the keeper took pity on him and through submitting him to the appropriate ritual procedure averted the penalty. It was believed too that the keeper could not lose if, against the rules, he really did gamble. Gamblers, at least notorious ones, were not selected as pipe keepers.

Keepers and their wives were subject to a great many other restrictions. They had to maintain a high degree of dignity, to practise many kinds of abstention and "asceticism," and to be benefactors to and intercessors for all the people. It seems probably that the taboo on their gambling was related to one or more of these aspects of the keepership.

Ritual "grandfathers" among the Gros Ventre were of two kinds. A retiring sacred-pipe keeper became automatically "grandfather" to the incoming keeper and instructed him in the ritual, prerogatives and duties of the keepership; a candidate for a sacred lodge chose an older man who had been through the rite as a ritual "grandfather" who would instruct him in the ceremonies and observances of the lodge in question. A person would never gamble against his ritual grandfather. The relationship established between grandfather and grandchild in both cases was predominantly a respectful and sacred one. Against his ritual grandfather a man would not even play in the modern non-gambling 4-button hand game.

The foregoing rather intricate "bettor-wager" gambling pattern appears to be the result of the orderly interplay of five chief determinants or conditioning factors.

The most important and most basic determinant was that of in-group altruism, cohesion, and loyalty, decreasing in intensity from closer and smaller circle to more distant and larger circle, from biological family, to kinship group, to band, to lodge and society, to tribe as such, to more or less friendly alien tribe, and stopping short of hostile alien tribe. In general, the less intense the

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

of the society. The officers were free to transfer their ceremonial equipment to other members whom they would select. Following the typical Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of ownership, the recipient would present as lavish gifts as he could afford to the donor while the relatives of the recipient showed their appreciation of the favor to their kinsman by giving away expensive gifts in his honor. All of this took place publicly at the dance.

Particular dances and songs were attached to each office and the owners of the ceremonial drumsticks were required to know in correct order all the numerous songs and to provide the musical accompaniment for the whole ceremony. These four drumstick owners were joined in certain of the songs by four women singers selected from among the wives of the Wolf-men. The owners of the various objects were responsible for the proper care thereof, the crow-belts and the drum receiving most respect. When not in use, the crow-belts were kept wrapped in special bundles in the lodges of their respective owners, but were hung outside when the owner's wife was in her menstrual period. Moreover, those who danced wearing the crow-belts were obliged to refrain from sexual relations for two or three days previous to the dancing and, before donning the belts, to make a smudge of sweet-grass to incense themselves and the crow-belts. The drum, too, received special attention. One informant speaks of it as having been "nicely decorated," and we know from Kroeber's description[9] that the trimming was very similar to that of the Assiniboine Grass dance drum.[10]

Procedure. The actual dancing took place in a special circular dancing-place in the center of the camp circle. This "corral," as it was sometimes referred to, was constructed from several lodge covers, but was open at the top and the entrance thereto was at the east. The tipi of the drum-keeper was put up nearby. Opposite the opening of the "corral" was the place of honor where sat the officials,—with the exception of the sword owners, who with their assistants were at either side of the entrance. The

[9] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.
[10] Lowie, R. H., The Assiniboine, AMNH-AP 4, pt. 1, 1909, p. 67.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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Dance (Sun Dance), for example, was given in that very year and, so far as our data go, but one Crazy Dance was held after that. The seasonal Flat Pipe rite was discontinued. Furthermore there was a breakdown in the socio-political life. The necessity for nomadic life had disappeared and as a consequence there was no longer need of policing the hunt or keeping order in the camp circle when the whole tribe gathered so that, with the further establishment of peace, the raison d'être for two rival soldier societies was gone.

In the transition period the missionaries were trying valiantly to fill the gap in religious life but did not offer a satisfactory solution for the social situation; nor did the Agency which had become the center of the new economic life. It was the Grass dance, which as we have seen survived in a somewhat changed form, that seems to have filled the void left in social life.

In its earlier form the Grass dance was purely social in nature, as was the Star dance, but the latter faded away while the former attained a position of heightened importance. One of the factors accounting for this fact seems to be that the Grass dance "had more to it," as our informants put it. The performance of the dog ritual was certainly far more spectacular than the simpler dance of the Star society and, in addition, it had semi-ceremonial connotations reminiscent of other features of the older Gros Ventre culture which were lacking from the Star dance. For example, the owners of the regalia in the Grass dance were likewise officers of several degrees of importance therein, as was the case in the performance of the Sacred Dances. Again, sex abstinence was required before dancing with the crow-belts as it was before participating in the Sacrifice Dance (Sun Dance) and before dancing with the Feathered Pipe. Ceremonial incensing of persons and equipment had been a marked characteristic of Gros Ventre religious life. The formal transfer of office and regalia duplicates the pattern of transfer of office of Pipe Keeper, transfer of painted lodges, and so on. Recounting of war deeds was frequently demanded in connection with many aspects of Gros Ventre life,—to validate the giving of a name, the erection of a